87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

179 245 [563] better methods of producing copra. The European planters are few, and the improvement of agriculture rightly lies with the Tongans themselves.

439 [245] [651] Copra, the chief product, is exported to England and America. Until better drying arrangements are more generally made, Tongan copra will continue to be regarded as of inferior quality; at present it is used largely in the manufacture of common soap and margarine. The Government levies an export duty of £1 per ton on copra. The quantity and value of copra exported in recent years are as follows:—

	Tons.	Value.
		£
1923	14,339	257,586
1924	14,533	297,487
1925	13,758	280,386
1926	13,992	255,156
1927	11,252	225,344
1928	15,671	282,344
1929	16,860	252,911
1930	14,134	169,609
1931	8,929	80,361

[458] The effect of the present world-wide trade-depression is apparent.

The export of bananas to New Zealand, through the Tonga Government, began in December, 1931. Since that date shipments varying from 3,000 to 9,000 cases have been sent, but the quantity has had to be restricted owing to the unfavourable ruling prices on the Auckland market. Sweet potatoes and pineapples have also been exported to Auckland in small quantities.

The only other article exported is edible fungus found on trees (taligeliga); this is sent to China, the average annual value in recent years being £530.

IMPORTS, WITH COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN.

The following are the total imports in recent years, together with total exports for purposes of comparison:—

	Imports.	Exports.
	£	£
1923	195,020	267,619
1924	232,600	306,658
1925	258,322	290,115
1926	227,882	263,198
1927	157,783	235,391
1928	211,907	287,668
1929	198,078	259,090
1930	148,305	183,204
1931	81,170	90,596

The chief imports, with their average total value in recent years, are: Drapery £28,170; meats (mostly tinned) £20,362; flour £10,894; bags (copra sacks) £7,401; hardware £6,419; motor cars and accessories

With increased tourist growth, Tongans are in direct competition with the tourists for space and for imported foodstuffs. Unless a tourist lives with a Tongan family, and very few do, the main tourist diet consists of fruits and breads from Tonga and imported foodstuffs. This importation of foodstuffs—much of it because of its relation to tourism—is also reflected in the Tongan economy by the Consumer Price Index (CPI). The CPI, heavily biased towards food items, was established in 1969 with a base of 100.0. In six years, the CPI has reached the astronomical figure of 172.4 (Figure 2).

Ever-increasing amounts of food must be imported to feed the growing number of tourists who compete with Tongans for certain goods. Despite this, tourist growth is encouraged. The impact on the "average" Tongan is startling, especially when he sees the price of food double in a single year at the local market. The impact on children is considerable. The Tongan Ministry of Health has pointed out that "protein-calorie malnutrition" is prevalent among many young Tongan children to a disturbing degree.[6]

Although the inflationary spiral in Tonga in the last few years, as evidenced by increased consumer prices, is obviously related to the generalized worldwide

[p. 89-B]

A. [For footnote, see p. 93-A--Analyst]

457 pattern I believe that some of the problems are due to
458 increased tourist growth. Tongans must first stabilize
435 their basic economy before designs should be made for increased tourist growth.

A CLOSER LOOK AT TOURISM

121 Borrowing some ideas from the late distinguished scholar, Jacob Bronowski, and the Australian academician, Derek Freeman, I should like to suggest that we need to look at the Pacific (and the people of Tonga) in terms of an "evolutionary model" of development. As Freeman has aptly stated it, "In recent years, evolutionary theory has emerged saliently as the unifying paradigm of all the biological sciences, from biochemistry to ecology."[7A] Evolution may be seen in the
[182] twentieth century terms of neutrality: the adaptation of an organism to an environment. Successful adaptation comes by means of cooperation and not by competition.[8B]

Bronowski looks at the "evolution of complexity" and develops the model of "stratified stability"[9C] which states that evolution proceeds from

[p. 89-C]

A, B, C, [For footnotes, see p. 93-A--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 91-A]

91: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1977
OU9 Tonga OU9

examines the impact of tourism on the Tongan economy and the social and cultural problems associated with the advent of recent mass tourism.

The Economic Problem

Tonga is primarily an agricultural nation of small landholders. Despite Government efforts to modernize and increase food production, the natural resources of the islands are inadequate to feed the growing population. For greater cash-flow, primarily to meet Tongan consumer demands for Western products, Tonga has become an exporter of agricultural commodities. It is germane to note, however, that foodstuffs (especially meat and chicken) account for almost a third of Tonga's annual imports. In 1973, for example, total exports amounted to almost us$5,000,000, with copra being the most important export (at us$3,347,000). Dietary inadequacies among Tongans, occasioned by high food costs, are best assessed by the Minister of Health who stated in 1973 that protein-calorie malnutrition is prevalent among young Tongan children to a disturbing degree. In the same year seventeen cases of severe "nutritional deficiency" required hospitalization, two of which became fatalities.

Spiraling inflation has eroded Tongan buying power over recent years, as indicated by the Consumer Price Index (CPI). Established in 1969 with a September base of 100.0, the CPI is based on the purchasing power of a "typical" Tongan family earning less than us$37 per week. Heavily biased towards food items (64 percent of all items on the index), the CPI has risen steadily (Figure 1) to 172.4 in six years. Increases in food prices, both domestic and imported, have consistently contributed most to this upward trend. In one of the largest overall increases, 11.4 percent in the quarter of June-September 1973, the fruit and vegetable component of the CPI increased by 46.9 percent. In the second largest increase, 11.2 percent from December 1972–March 1973, this same sub-group of basic staples increased by 33.1 percent, while the cereal subgroup (bread, flour, and rice) increased by 31.6 percent.

Unemployment is another critical economic problem. In an island world where land is extremely important, many adult Tongans are without land. Although every Tongan male, upon reaching the age of sixteen (and becoming a taxpayer) is entitled to some "bush land" for crops and "town land" for a home, there simply isn't enough to go around. The Assistant Secretary in the Ministry of Finance pointed out that in 1966, 59 percent of all men over sixteen years of age who were entitled to tax allotments were landless and, no doubt, this proportion has increased by 1971. Even if the unused areas are used it may provide employment for about thirty-four hundred men, still leaving thousands unemployed.

91: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1977
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could not be assured of making airline connections from the Kingdom to other points on the itinerary.

Because of mounting fuel and labor costs, long-haul cruises such as those that stop at Tonga are not as profitable as the short-haul, fast turn-around cruises that operate weekly or biweekly in the Caribbean (Waters and Patterson 1976). As a result, in the foreseeable future cruises stopping at Tonga might decrease as much as 50 percent in a single year, with a projected annual loss of revenue of us$600,000. This would seriously affect the handicraft manufacturers and other businessmen in the Kingdom. Losses of anticipated revenue generated through tourism should serve to reinforce the potential disaster for Tongans if their economy is tied too closely to tourism.

It must also be noted that while short-term cruise passengers consume little of the imported foodstuffs, the airline guests (whose stay ranges from five to eleven days) must be fed for the duration of their visit. The host/guest competition for food and natural resources will further contribute to the upward inflationary curve.

What Price Tourism?

Tongans are increasingly becoming the victims of their own tourism. They are exceedingly happy when cruise ships dock with a thousand passengers (and several hundred crew members), and pump thousands of dollars into the economy in an eight-hour period, but Tongans are even happier at dusk when the ships depart. The physical impact of a thousand tourists on one town situated on a relatively tiny island is tremendous, especially when most of the tourists are bussed around to "see" all the sights of the island. The tourist literature has brought the visitors here "to observe the traditional Tongan way of life in the *natives' own habitat*" and the shore excursions promise that you will "see the daily work routine of men and women—gardening, weaving baskets, cooking, washing and their many other activities. This village walking tour offers you an excellent opportunity to photograph the Tongan people as they really are" (Itinerary for the International Institute, 24 June 1974). Tongans cannot tolerate being regarded as members of a "cultural zoo" and are not "on display" for wealthy visitors. Under these circumstances, there are exceedingly few opportunities for a true host/guest relationship to develop.

Tourists have usually heard something about Tonga long before they arrive. Many guests remember the late Queen of Tonga's memorable ride in an open carriage during a rainfall when Her Majesty Queen Salote Tupou III attended the coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II in London in 1953. Tourists, therefore, already "know" something about

/203 cont./

245 the same throughout the year, since the months in which more nuts fall
433 (summer) they are usually not all gathered, whereas in the periods of rather more scarcity (winter and the dry seasons) the natives seem concerned about every nut. On a plantation of 8¼ acres an average of
245 approximately two tons of copra may be produced in a year; since the
433 price paid by the Copra Board for A-quality was, for example, 62£T.
434 per ton in 1952, the owner of such a plantation was able to earn
[435] about 124£T. (or about 1170 German marks) that year for his copra, if he delivered the best quality. The plantations that are available to individual families, however, differ in size, (528)

528. See p. 173 ff.

so that the profit in terms of money from copra production fluctuates very much among individual households, and at present amounts to perhaps 30 and 300£T. annually. (529)

529. In 1952 in the Vava'u group, for instance, every household made an average of 170£T.

245 Moreover, the price of copra constantly rises and falls on the world
435 market, (530)
458
434

530. Before the second World War the price paid for one ton of copra in Tonga dropped to 4£T.

so that the Tongans, with their heavy dependence on copra production as their most important source of money, have experienced "rich" and "poor" periods during the past decades. Nonetheless, with the money
439 they receive for their copra production the natives are able to buy
197 various imported goods which contribute in some respects to a change
511 in their material culture as compared with the past. Most of these goods are not vitally necessary for the islanders, for today all Tongans can still support themselves solely by means of their agriculture (along with their fishing and domestic-animal raising). Since the quantities of bark cloth and mats that were made in the

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

369 596 593 591 166 employment is found or a means of establishing a new urban household is secured. At this point division is accomplished and the newly urbanized family becomes another potential host to migrating relatives. This system with its chain nature of migratory urbanization was observed in many of the surveyed urban households.

369 166 Thus, migration to urban areas has been in response to economic and social pressures for education, employment and the prestige of urban living, plus a lessening attachment to the traditional village life style. Therefore, migratory trends are indicative of cultural and economic changes in Tonga, which are expected to continue.

436 178 With the development of cash cropping and a greater dependency being placed upon a cash economy, money has become an essential to the average Tongan. Not only is it needed to meet social obligations (i.e., education, taxes and church contributions) but it is also increasingly important in satisfying the basic subsistence needs of both rural and urban residents. The desire to increase cash income has altered the agricultural pattern of the nation from traditional to cash cropping, thus eliminating a dependency upon the land for production of food and material necessities. These changes have been facilitated by fluctuations in post-World War II copra prices, and such natural disasters as drought and hurricanes.

178 241 182 [458] [73]

369 166 [464] While Nuku'alofa does not offer full-time employment to most migrants, there remains the possibility for part-time labor, sufficient to meet the minimum cash requirements. Thus, urban